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Revision of Relief Up Before Congress

House and Senate Oppose President on Amount to Carry WPA to Next July

MACHINERY CHANGES SEEN

Special Committee Urges Complete Overhauling to Provide Permanent Efficient System

The first important measure acted upon by the House of Representatives in the present session was a relief bill. The House whittled down an appropriation which had been requested by President Roosevelt. The money appropriated by the last Congress for the use of the Works Progress Administration, to last until the first of next July, will soon be exhausted and more is needed to enable the WPA to carry on through the spring and early summer. The President estimated that \$875,000,000 would be needed for this purpose. The House of Representatives cut the figure to \$725,000,000, and sent the bill over to the Senate, where it is now being debated.

This action is interesting and important. In the first place, it indicates that President Roosevelt will not have smooth sailing during the present session of Congress. He and his New Deal supporters have been defeated on the first big measure to come up. It indicates further that the Republicans and conservative Democrats may be able to block the New Deal on a good many points, and, in particular, that they may bring about changes in the administration's program. However that may be, it is certain that the action taken by the House and the debate now going on in the Senate have brought the whole relief problem acutely to the attention of the entire nation.

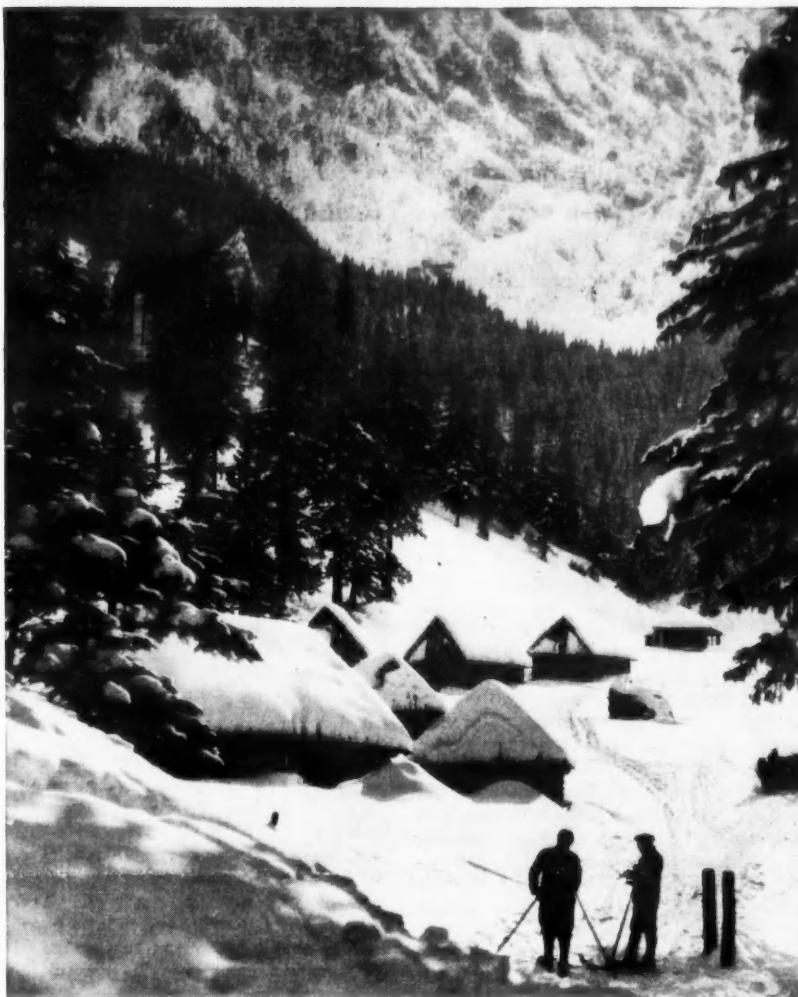
Relief Burden

Before we take up the matters which are being debated in Congress, it will be well to get a general picture of the relief situation. The problem is really so big as to stagger the imagination. More than 21,000,000 persons were benefiting from some kind of relief last June, and the number is not very much less today. These people came from nearly 7,000,000 households. Just think what this means! One person out of six in the United States is receiving relief—is being supported by the rest of the population. If relief and its burdens were distributed equally over the country, we would find that of every six families, one family was being supported or kept by the other five.

This naturally places a terrific burden upon the people who are not on relief; a burden upon the entire nation. The cost is enormous. But the burden cannot be easily escaped. At least one-sixth of all the wage earners of the United States are unemployed. A few, no doubt, do not care to work, but most of them do, and not many could obtain jobs, however much they wanted them. We cannot possibly get around the fact that there are 10,000,000 more workers in the country than there are jobs. And so long as that situation prevails, there will be millions of families which would starve if they were not cared for by the rest of the population.

Now let us glance at the relief machinery which has been established. Most important of all the agencies is the Works

(Concluded on page 7)



THE COUNTRIES OF NORTHERN EUROPE FEEL THE PRESSURE OF GERMAN-SOVIET RIVALRY

"Democratic Education"

This week we are reprinting an editorial from the *Emporia Gazette*. The editor of the *Gazette*, William Allen White, gives students in both high school and college something to think about. Many high school students are trying to decide whether they should go to college. The answer should depend, in large part, upon whether they are interested in things intellectual and whether they have acquired habits of study which will enable them to make progress in an institution of higher learning. As Mr. White intimates, the American public is getting tired of maintaining expensive educational institutions for the benefit of young people who attend them merely for a good time or because it is the customary thing to do. The public will take care of youth during the high school years. After that, there is no obligation to keep them in institutions for which they are not prepared. Young people who intend to go to college should, while still in high school, develop habits of industry and thoughtfulness. Let us see what Mr. White has to say on the subject:

"A survey recently was made by the Carnegie Foundation which shows a significant weakness in democratic education. A pamphlet has been published by the Public Affairs Committee of New York, summarizing the results of the Carnegie Foundation's 10-year study of higher education in Pennsylvania. One of the significant findings of the Foundation is that 'only about half the youth of outstanding ability are getting into college, and at least one-fourth of the college students who get there are below the average out-of-school youth in ability.'

"Which confirms the *Gazette's* ancient hunch that a good quarter and possibly a third of the students in our colleges are intellectual roughnecks who go there to learn manners, to join a fraternity that will help them in their business, to marry properly placed mates, and to swank around at football games as slightly squizzed alumni.

"We are taxing ourselves to educate a student body which is at least 30 per cent chumps and always will be chumps. Moreover this foundation report reveals that in some way we are barring from colleges, by reason of the expense of going to college, about half the American youth of high-grade mentality and first-rate ability.

"Democracy is clumsy, of course. Its ways are stumbling, in the nature of things. But by the Lord Harry, it just can't afford to go on keeping half the intelligent youth out of college by reason of their economic position and filling up the ranks of at least a fourth of the college students with uneducatable dumb clucks who have nothing but money to put them in school and nothing but a brass veneer to back them up when they get out of school.

"While we are defending liberty in this fair land, let us not forget that liberty is not a perfected engine of progress. It is the best the world knows but it certainly needs a few more gadgets to make it hit on all six."

Baltic States Seek Way to Keep Peace

See Only Hope of Salvation in Clinging to the Precarious European Status Quo

NAZI DRIVE IS EXPECTED

Hitler Campaign Against Lithuania Seen as Mere Prelude to Bid for Baltic Domination

In this, the first month of the year 1939, three problems seem most likely to occupy the large part of the European news during the next 12 months. The first, Mussolini's desire to make Italy supreme in the Mediterranean, was discussed in the January 2 issue of *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*. The second, Hitler's desire to establish a new Ukrainian state at the expense of Russia, was set forth in these columns last week. The third problem involves another expected Nazi movement, this one to make Germany supreme in the Baltic Sea. This problem is closely related to the second in that it would be accomplished largely at the expense of Russia.

There has been nothing very spectacular along these lines as yet. But the sharp-eyed student of foreign affairs cannot fail to note with interest a succession of small items in his daily newspapers—Hitler's offer of a strange treaty to Lithuania last fall, the Nazi victory at the polls in the small Lithuanian territory of Memel, the resignation of a foreign minister of Finland under outside pressure, a warning speech by a Swedish foreign minister, the arrests of Nazi spies in Denmark, and of Russian spies in Estonia, and the fortification of certain islands in the Baltic by Finland and Sweden. All these seemingly local matters fit into a pattern which suggests that there is something brewing in the Baltic which bodes no good for the smaller states on its eastern shores.

The Baltic Sea

In some ways the Baltic is a strange sea. Although geographically part of the ocean, it is almost without tides. Although it is salt water, the actual salt content is so slight that many people mistake it for fresh water, and in fact it is actually used for drinking water in its upper reaches. From the coast of Germany it spreads out obliquely to the northeast, splitting like a crude, stubby letter "Y" at Finland, and reaching one arm around that country to the east, the Gulf of Finland, and another to the north, the Gulf of Bothnia. The Baltic varies in width from 50 to 200 miles, and in total area it is three times the size of the Adriatic. At the open end of this sea lie the German warships. At the closed eastern end, Russian warships. In between merchant ships carry the world's commerce undisturbed, while the broad, flat-bottomed fishing boats peculiar to the Baltic trawl for fish in its shallow waters. In between lie also the shores of those countries whose independence and prosperity are now somewhat in jeopardy—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and, to a lesser extent, Finland.

The so-called Baltic states, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are much alike in several respects—they are small in area (Lithuania is a little smaller than West Virginia, Latvia slightly larger, and Estonia about two-thirds the area of that state), their combined populations total only to five and a half million. They are likewise characterized by a geographical sameness.

(Continued on page 3)

Facts About Magazines

IV. The Nation

The *Nation* is a weekly journal of mingled comment and fact, with editorial paragraphs, special articles, and news summaries written from a strongly marked liberal point of view. As its editors view the era in which we live, it is one in which the human rights and liberties of the people everywhere are under bitter attack, both abroad and here in the United States; and this magazine accordingly devotes itself largely to tilting its lance against



FREDA KIRCHWEY

oppression and injustice and trying to arouse opinion on the liberal side of current issues. It is vigorously written, and outstandingly represents the crusading type of journalism.

Since there is a tendency on the part of more conventional news magazines to deal cautiously with the more hotly controversial happenings, or indeed to pass them by altogether, a reader may find in *The Nation* many things that are not elsewhere recorded. The writing is not primarily neutral—in fact, the treatment is nearly always quite strongly “for” or “against”—but as reading matter it is quite vivid and the statements, if not two-sided, are of the sort that sink home. Three types of people read *The Nation*—those who like to see their own ultra-liberal opinions borne out and confirmed; those who dislike or even hate such opinions but desire to keep informed on the liberal

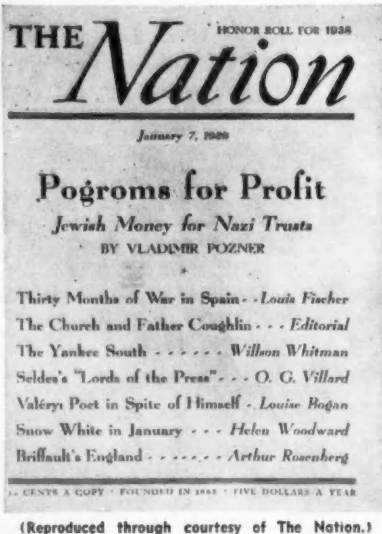
The Nation has behind it an interesting 74-year history. It was founded just after the Civil War by the abolitionists, Edwin Lawrence Godkin and Wendell Phillips Garrison. Godkin was an outstanding literary figure, while Garrison was the son of the famous William Lloyd Garrison, mightiest of antislavery crusaders. These two conducted the magazine during the trying period of Reconstruction.

In 1881, it was taken over by Henry Villard, owner of the *New York Evening Post*, and from then until the World War *The Nation* was affiliated with the *Post* as that newspaper's weekly magazine. It was the early years of this century that saw the development of the noted editor who gave *The Nation* its present form and ranking: Oswald Garrison Villard.

Henry Villard had married a sister of Wendell Garrison's, and Oswald Garrison Villard hence is not only the son of the publisher who owned *The Nation* for nearly 40 years, but is also the grandson of William Lloyd Garrison. It was in 1918, when the *Evening Post* changed hands, that Oswald Garrison Villard took over the magazine; he was its active editor until 1935, when he retired, and today he still conducts a weekly page, “Issues and Men,” full of his ripe wisdom.

The present publisher and editor is Freda Kirchwey, who has been associated with *The Nation* since 1917.

This journal constantly warns its readers that, even though they are separated from Europe by a broad ocean, they are not safe from European oppression; and that we, too, have cases of persecution and tyranny among us, which only an informed public opinion can remedy. The contents of a recent issue serve to illustrate this policy. It had “paragraph” editorials on the Nazi influence in South America; on Father Coughlin's anti-Semitism; on the appointment of Frank Murphy as attorney general, which was praised; on airplane preparedness, the Chinese situation, and the Scottsboro case in Alabama. Longer editorials dealt with Franco in Spain, recovery, and the constitutional right of the American people to assemble as against the denial of that right in Jersey City. Special articles dealt with Spain, with industrial conditions in the South, with the German persecution of the Jews. Ten books were reviewed, six of them at length, and there were various special short features.



(Reproduced through courtesy of The Nation.)

trend; and those who feel there are two sides to everything and want to understand this side.

Each issue contains, first, eight or 10 brief editorial paragraphs, based on the previous week's occurrences; then come two or three longer editorial treatments. Articles by special writers, usually persons who are eminent in liberal circles, make up the central portion of the magazine; these include exposés, discussions of economic conditions and beliefs, and the “muckraking” items which are a *Nation* specialty. Another specialty is the book reviews, for which this journal has long been famous.

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DEMONSTRATION

Mayor Hague's policies in Jersey City have been severely criticized in his home district and throughout the nation. He has not, however, lacked support. This group of followers make their enthusiasm evident by their signs and banners.

'Profiles' Includes Mayor Hague In Group of Intimate Sketches

FRANK HAGUE, the mayor of Jersey City and the vice-chairman of the Democratic party, has so often been cited as an example of an American fascist and his rule of Jersey City has so often been called the rule of a dictator that it is interesting to learn more about the man and his methods. An excellent picture of this unique political leader appears in a volume called “Profiles from the New Yorker” (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, \$3.00). This sketch of Hague is one of a number of character sketches, or “profiles,” which appeared originally in the magazine *New Yorker*, and have now been reprinted in book form.

This excellent sizing up of Mayor Hague verifies the common impression that he rules his city with an iron hand. Every department of the city government is definitely within his grip and he gives nearly all municipal enterprises his careful personal attention.

In many respects Mayor Hague has given excellent service to his city. He has a very efficient police force and has driven the crime rate down to a low level. He is interested in public health and has determined to give his people higher standards in this respect. He has established

an excellent municipal health center and sees to it that the poorer people have medical attention. He has also insisted upon first-class fire protection and has given Jersey City a high standing in fire prevention.

It is interesting to note that Jersey City's mayor—dictator, he is often called—perhaps because he himself was expelled from school at the age of 13 as a “problem child,” has an intense interest in and is particularly mindful of the maladjusted or problem children. They are given unusual attention in the Jersey City schools and as a result juvenile delinquency is low.

But while Mayor Hague may be praised for the efficiency of his work in many departments, he is often called a dictator and his undemocratic methods are clearly indicated. He has many ways of seeing that elections go as he wishes them to go. He ruthlessly suppresses public meetings whose purposes he does not approve. We are told that he opposes the establishment of strong labor unions because he does not want the employers of Jersey City to be too much troubled by organized labor. He wants to maintain Jersey City as a favorable place for employers so that they may build up industries and be able to pay the heavy taxes which are required. The taxes, by the way, are said to be far higher than those of most other cities. The mayor gives the people many services, and then forces them to dig deeply into their pockets in payment.

It is a well-advertised fact that he cares little for the traditional American principles of free speech and free assembly. That is why he has been called a dictator and a fascist who holds his power like the fascist dictators of certain other countries with the consent of his people. There is little doubt that he has that consent, for in a recent election he was supported by a vote of more than 110,000 compared with less than 7,000 in opposition.

The Jersey City mayor is but one of a long list of characters pictured in “Profiles from the New Yorker.” There are 23 of them, in fact, and they range all the way from Queen Mary to Nicholas Murray Butler and Bishop Manning, Father Divine, Harpo Marx, and several unknowns, who have been selected as types illustrating phases of American life. These biographical notes are well written, each chapter representing the style of its author. There is quite a little humor, as well as information, in the sketches, particularly the one dealing with Henry R. Luce, editor of *Time*. This chapter is written in exaggerated *Time* style.



FRANK HAGUE

With the Magazines

“The T.V.A. and the Utilities,” by Richard Hellman. *Harpers*, January 1939, pp. 164-174.

The significance of the Tennessee Valley Authority, this writer believes, lies not only in its fight with utilities which has resulted in cheaper electrical rates for a larger portion of the Tennessee Valley population, but also in its broader social program. This program, says Mr. Hellman, is teaching the people it touches a new sort of cooperative planning and a new regionalism.

“Plants by Liquid Culture,” by C. F. Greeves-Carpenter. *Scientific American*, January 1939, pp. 5-7.

The new science of growing plants without soil in chemical solutions that give them needed nourishment is described in this informative article. Experiments with this new method have proved successful in growing many common flowers, fruits, and vegetables. The writer says that this field may be explored by scientific investigators or amateurs.

“The Press and the N.L.R.B.,” by Mary Bartlett. *Nation*, January 1939, pp. 5-7.

This article claims that the newspapers of the United States have tried to distort news about the National Labor Relations Board and its policies. By giving actual examples from newspapers, it shows instances of un-

fair and untruthful treatment of the N.L.R.B. The writer concludes that the majority of the press is antilabor.

“Unser Amerika,” by S. K. Padover. *Forum*, January 1939, pp. 3-7.

Seeds of outright Nazi propaganda are now being sown in the United States, says this writer. To back up his statements, he tells of the attempts of German agents and writers to start anti-Jewish drives, to stir up hatred between the white and Negro races, and to create a strong Germanic group in America.

“Repeal or Amend the Neutrality Act,” by Arthur G. Coons. *Amerasia*, January 1939, pp. 535-538.

In this timely article the Neutrality Act is condemned because it has failed to take into account the involved economic position of the United States. Mr. Coons feels that the act should be changed to give the President more power in guiding the foreign policy of the United States and to remove restrictions from nations that are victims of aggression.

“America's Peace Army,” by John L. Christian. *Current History*, January 1939, pp. 43-45.

This description of the Civilian Conservation Corps has as its theme that “The CCC will go down in history as the greatest governmental effort yet put forth for the youth of this country, and one of the greatest measures of conservation in history.”



The Baltic's Place in Europe's Turmoil

(Continued from page 1)

Along the shores of the shallow Baltic lie shifting sand dunes, beyond them pine forests and gently rolling farm lands. There are few industries. A large part of the population in all three countries engages in agriculture—in the growing of flax, rye, barley, oats, wheat, and potatoes. Add to these the products of lumber, the fish from the sea, and the ambergris (from which amber and perfume are made), and one has a fairly complete picture of the products of these states.

The Baltic States

In some parts of Lithuania, and in Latvia and Estonia to the north one sees today several remnants of czarist Russia. There are the queer bulbous spires on some of the churches, closely akin to the Byzantine architecture of the Russian Orthodox Churches, a somewhat similar religious music, and similar customs. This is not surprising when it is considered that up until 21 years ago, all three of these states, plus Finland and the eastern section of Poland, were incorporated within Russia in one solid block. Although Lithuania was once a great power, and back in 1385 extended its boundaries nearly as far south as the Black Sea, during the last few centuries it was politically nonexistent. Neither Latvia nor Estonia ever enjoyed independent existence before the simultaneous collapse of Russia and Germany in 1917-1918 enabled them, with Lithuania, to break away. In former days those regions inhabited by the Liths, Letts, and Esths (called then the Baltic Provinces) were considered spoil for any power strong

and thus finances, although scant, were in order. Their safety lay, first, in the League of Nations, and second, in the fact that the great powers desired to keep them intact in order to keep Germany and Russia apart. Today agricultural products stream out of their markets to Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, and other countries, which pay for them with manufactured goods. Although there is not a great deal of buying and selling with Russia, the fact that Russia's railroad trunk lines in the northwest converge on the Baltic ports of Memel, Riga, and Tallinn, in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia respectively, gives to those states a great deal of profitable commercial activity.

The elements of danger among the Baltic states are largely those of diminutive size, and the most unfortunate imaginable geographic location. They are entirely dependent upon the Baltic for foreign trade. Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and even Finland, who share the sea with them, all have other outlets. But not the Baltic states. Other danger elements are historical. In 1920 a Polish general invaded Lithuania and forcibly annexed the ancient Lithuanian capital of Vilna and the lands around it. The Lithuanians, although outraged, were too weak to defend themselves, so instead they invaded the small coastal strip of Memel, belonging to the then prostrate Germany, and annexed it. Ever since that time, Vilna has hung like a cloud over Lithuanian-Polish relations, while Memel has given Hitler the excuse he apparently wants to open a drive north through the Baltic states that will bring German troops to the Gulf of Finland, within striking distance of Leningrad.

Relations With Germany

Although the three republics were frankly worried about Hitler's ideas for expansion in the Baltic during the first few years of Naziism, last autumn they watched the subjugation and partition of their neighbor, Czecho-Slovakia (a nation three times as powerful as all three Baltic states combined) with ill-disguised dread. The League

of Nations had become ineffectual, and it was becoming obvious that neither France nor England would meet its obligations in eastern Europe if they clashed with Hitler's wishes. The three small republics were being cast loose to shift for themselves in what must indeed have seemed a vicious world.

Lithuania, the closest to Germany, felt the weight of the renewed German strength first. Abruptly, Hitler offered Lithuania a pact in which he promised that state peace for 15 years on conditions that would have made Lithuania a vassal state, shorn of its integrity and independence. The treaty was not accepted. Shortly afterward the streets of Memel were filled with Nazi shouting, "It's our turn now," and calling for union with the Reich. On December 11, the Nazis elected 25 members to the Memel Diet, out of 29, and immediately the German press began a campaign similar to that used against Czecho-Slovakia. The government of Lithuania has since yielded to the point of granting to Memel a rather large degree of autonomy, enough, anyway, to satisfy the Memel Nazis and the German press for a time. Whether Hitler will be satisfied with this concession for long, however, is uncertain.

Developments Since Munich

Developments since the Munich accord indicate a great expansion of Nazi activities in the Baltic. This has not only involved the Baltic states themselves, but several of the northern countries whose traditional neutrality faces a severe strain. In Denmark a number of Nazi spies were recently arrested and the information was released that a large and highly organized espionage system was already functioning in the western Baltic. German pressure in Finland has been strong enough to force the resignation of Foreign Minister Holsti, who was regarded as too friendly with Russia and with the democratic powers, and who was alleged by the Nazis to have made a slight-



THE BALTIC STATES

JOHNSON

ing remark about Hitler one time in Geneva. Although Holsti denied making the remark, he was forced to resign just the same. The foreign minister of Sweden, R. J. Sandler, has likewise felt the German pressure to which he recently responded by publicly announcing that the Nazis had instructed Swedish firms to drop all non-Aryan employees or face a boycott, and

(Concluded on page 6, column 4)



LATVIAN CONSULATE
LATVIAN GIRL

enough to wrench them away from any other power. A bone of contention between Russia and Germany for centuries, in the World War the Baltic countries were laid to a waste even more ruinous than that of Belgium.

But something, whether inherent in the race or in the pine-scented air of their lands, instilled in these people a great love of homeland and a great capacity for resisting assimilation. A hardy people, intelligent, and among the most highly literate in the world, they clung to their speech, manners, and customs with a dogged persistence that was rewarded when, in 1918, they threw off the Russian yoke, ousted the German army of occupation, and then later won the sanction of the victorious Allies in the Treaty of Versailles.

Strength and Weakness

The three small Baltic states started out in life endowed with elements both of strength and weakness. The fact that they were nearly devoid of minerals (with the exception of a few shale oil deposits in Estonia) prevented any industrial development, but it also insured them that they would not be seized upon by great powers seeking raw materials. They were small, but fairly compact. Racial minorities in all three states were so small as to be almost negligible. Their agricultural system, based upon small holdings parceled out after the division of huge landed estates formerly held by the Baltic barons, was sound, although not very modern. There was no staggering war debt to start with,

A SQUABBLE among the three directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority last year resulted in the dismissal of Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, chairman of the board, by President Roosevelt. For several months Harcourt A. Morgan and David Lilienthal have been running the TVA without the assistance of a third director. But now James P. Pope, former senator from Idaho, has been appointed to the board by President Roosevelt. His appointment has been approved by a Senate committee, and it is almost certain that it will be passed upon favorably by the entire Senate—it may have been confirmed by the time this paper reaches its readers.

Mr. Pope served only one term, from 1933 until 1939, in the United States Senate. He and Senator McGill of Kansas were co-authors of the latest farm bill. It is thought that dissatisfaction among Idaho's farmers caused his defeat in the primary elections last summer—Senator McGill was defeated by his Republican opponent in the regular elections.

Before coming to Washington in 1933, Mr. Pope practiced law in Boise, Idaho. He held several public offices—city attorney of Boise, assistant attorney general of Idaho, and mayor of Boise—between 1916 and 1933. He is a native of Louisiana, but went west after graduating from the University of Chicago.

The new TVA director was a loyal supporter of the New Deal while in the Senate. He is an able and efficient administrator, also, and has shown much interest in regional planning for flood control and soil conservation, the development of cheap electric power, and so on.

Mr. Pope comes from a state which has the largest deposits of phosphorus in the world. For that reason, he is especially

interested in the work of the TVA, because that agency has done much to develop Florida and Tennessee phosphorus as a fertilizer. Thus far, little has been done toward using the deposits in Idaho, but someday, Mr. Pope believes, they will be of great value to the nation.

A S Spanish insurgent troops swept into the western part of Catalonia last week, crowds poured into the streets of Burgos, the insurgent capital, to cheer their leader who had directed this, the greatest offensive in Europe since the World War.

Undisputed master of insurgent Spain though Francisco Franco is, one would never pick him out as a leader among men. When surrounded by his staff, he is one of the least impressive. Small, somewhat



H. A. E.
JAMES P. POPE



W. W.
FRANCISCO FRANCO

rotund, flashing occasionally a faintly sardonic grin, he appears to be what his education and experience trained him to be, an efficient and resourceful soldier.

Born 47 years ago in the province of Galicia (which is almost as Portuguese as it is Spanish), Francisco Franco moved directly from school into the army. At

the age of 30 he was commander in the Foreign Legion, and two years later he became the youngest of the many generals in the Spanish army. Although the Spanish army was top-heavy with an almost feudal officer cast which provided more generals for every soldier than did any other army in Europe, he managed by work and diligence to push his way through the crowds of his rivals to the top. When the oppressed miners of Asturias arose in rebellion in 1932, Franco was given some Moors and Legionnaires and told to crush them, which he did—ruthlessly. The People's Front government, which was voted into power in 1936, suspected him of fascist leanings and removed him to the Canary Islands. But when the insurgent revolt was ready, he flew to Spanish Morocco and aroused the Moors to rebellion, later landing in Spain at their head.

It is largely the result of chance that Franco heads the insurgents today. He has no mass following, little experience in politics, and few qualifications as a statesman. When his two superiors, Sanjurjo and Godea, were killed at the beginning of the war, Franco succeeded them apparently because no one else seemed to fit in. His long experience with the Moors and the Foreign Legion gave him the leadership.

Although his tasks to date have been difficult, those which will confront him in the event of victory may be even greater. Can he dislodge the Germans and Italians from the foothold they have already gained in Spain? Can he hold together the many factions now under his banner if he does not? If he can solve only these two of the many such difficult questions that will face him in the event of victory, he will be doing well.



POISED FOR THE GREATEST MASS FLIGHT IN U. S. HISTORY
A squadron of the 48 giant patrol bombers, which made a nonstop flight of 3,000 miles to the Canal Zone, warming up on the line near San Diego Bay before taking to the air on the southward journey to join the fleet in the Caribbean. The navy is preparing to hold a huge demonstration in the Caribbean area.

DOMESTIC

National Defense

The long-awaited special message on national defense was sent to Congress by President Roosevelt on January 12. It was much more moderate than had been expected. The President asked Congress to approve a program costing about \$550,000,000, in addition to the regular defense program of slightly more than one billion dollars which was contained in his message to Congress concerning the government's budget. Of this \$550,000,000, only \$210,000,000 would be spent during the fiscal year from July 1939 to July 1940.

The army is to receive the major portion of the extra fund. It is to get \$450,000,000, of which \$300,000,000 is to be spent for an increase of about 3,000 planes in the army's air force. The remainder of the army's share is to be spent on anti-aircraft guns, artillery, tanks, semiautomatic rifles, the strengthening of defenses at such places as Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, and so on.

The navy is to get \$65,000,000—\$44,000,000 for new and strengthened defense bases, and \$21,000,000 for new airplanes. Ten million dollars is to be spent on training college men in the fundamentals of aviation (the plan discussed in last week's *AMERICAN OBSERVER*). The Panama Canal defenses are to be strengthened at a cost of \$27,000,000.

Congress must approve the President's suggestions before they are put into effect, of course. Although some members object to increasing our expenditures for armaments, it is likely that the plan will go through substantially as the President proposed it.

Island of Guam

Far out in the Pacific Ocean, 5,000 miles from the United States, lies the little island of Guam, which has belonged to this country for more than 40 years. It is almost solid rock, 30 miles long and four to eight miles wide, but it has become of great importance lately because the United States may turn it into a strongly fortified naval and air base. Such a proposal is contained in a bill now before the House of Representatives, drafted on a plan suggested by navy officials.

The other naval bases suggested in the bill, on such islands as Midway, Oahu, Johnston, Palmyra, Canton, and Rose, can be justified on the grounds that they are needed to protect Hawaii and the North American continent from attacks from the Far East. But if a strong base is established at Guam, the United States will seem to be putting itself into a position where it can take a hand in Far Eastern affairs themselves.

Guam is only 1,300 miles from Yokohama, 800 miles from Japanese fortifications on the Bonin Islands. As Ernest K. Lindley points out in the *Washington Post*:

If we fortify Guam and develop it as a base, it means that we are reversing a fundamental policy and re-entering the Far East as a naval power. From Guam we can inflict vital damage

on Japan. According to the Hepburn board, this little island could accommodate an air force equal or superior to any hostile force that could be assembled within a radius of 1,200 miles, which brings you up to Japan proper. From Guam we could impede, or perhaps frustrate, any effort by the Japanese navy to move southward toward the East Indies and Australia. From Guam we could make precarious or impossible an attack in force on the Philippines. With Guam securely in our control and a little help from the British at Singapore, we could lay down a pretty tight blockade of Japan.

The question, then, is whether or not the United States wants to risk affronting Japan by setting up such a formidable base in the Far East. There will undoubtedly be considerable discussion of this point in Congress.

War in the Spring?

It is very likely that a general war will break out in Europe this spring, according to Joseph P. Kennedy, our ambassador to England, and William C. Bullitt, our ambassador to France. The two men, both of whom have been in the United States on vacation for some time, made this gloomy prophecy before a joint meeting of the Senate and House Military Affairs Committees. Their testimony was supposedly secret, but



AMBASSADORS REPORT

William C. Bullitt, ambassador to France, and Joseph P. Kennedy, ambassador to Great Britain, as they appeared before a joint session of the House and Senate military committees to report on conditions in Europe.

there were so many leaks that it was quite evident no one expected the information to be kept quiet.

After discussing the general European situation, the ambassadors described the air forces of the major powers, particularly Germany. Ambassador Bullitt told the members of Congress that Germany's air force was estimated at approximately 9,500 planes. Much of his information was thought to have come from the famous American aviator, Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, who recently inspected Germany's air force.

States' Rights

Where do the rights of the federal government end, and those of the state governments begin? This controversial question is as old as the United States itself; it played a prominent part in the discussions of the Constitutional Convention, and it precipitated the Civil War.

The question has been raised again, this time by the governor of Vermont, George

The Week at Home

What the People of the World Are

D. Aiken. The situation arose over a dam which the War Department planned to construct across the Ompompanoosuc River in Vermont. There is no disagreement over the need for the dam; both federal and state officials regard it as necessary for flood protection. But the War Department says it has the right, under the Flood Control Act passed last June, to build the dam, whether Vermont agrees to it or not. Governor Aiken, however, says that Vermont has the right officially to approve the dam before it can be built. He is willing to cooperate with the federal government, he says, but he insists that Vermont must have a written agreement.

The point may seem to be a small one, and in this particular instance it is, because both parties want the dam to be built. But Governor Aiken's contention is that if Vermont gives way at this time, a precedent will be established which will enable the federal government to take a state's land at any time, "without any regard at all for our wishes or rights." The governors of the other five New England states have joined with Governor Aiken in fighting the issue.

Transatlantic Air Mail

Weekly air-mail flights between London and New York will begin in June, according to the British Imperial Airways. Using the northern route across the Atlantic, the British flying-boats will make the trip in about 21 hours. From London they will fly to Foynes, Ireland, a distance of 350 miles. Then they will make the long hop from Foynes to Botwood, Newfoundland, 1,995 miles. From Botwood, it is 890 miles to Montreal, and 327 miles to New York. The total distance is 3,562 miles.

After air-mail service has been in operation for a while, Imperial Airways plans to start a passenger service also, carrying 16 persons on each trip.

American, French, and German companies are also making plans for transatlantic air lines. It is understood that Pan American Airways may have air-mail service started this spring, although no definite announcement has yet been made.

The map on this page shows both the northern and southern routes. The latter has been used by German and French planes on test flights; it is likely that winter flights will be made over it once transatlantic service is established. The southern route is slightly longer, but the weather is usually better.

Most Popular Books

The American Institute of Public Opinion, which usually concerns itself with testing public opinion on important national problems, recently polled the American people on the books they read. It found that the most popular book in the United States is the Bible, and that in second place, at the present time, is Margaret Mitchell's "Gone with the Wind."

The list of the 20 leading books is a mixture of recently published works and classics. It contains "Anthony Adverse," "The Citadel," "How to Win Friends and Influence People," "The Good Earth," "Ben Hur," "Northwest Passage," "Little Women," "A Tale of Two Cities," "Les Misérables," "Magnificent Obsession," "Adventures of Tom Sawyer,"



THE PROPOSED AIR TRAVEL

"Treasure Island," "Count of Monte Cristo," "Robinson Crusoe," "Ivanhoe," "The Green Light," "David Copperfield," and "Call of the Wild," in that order, after the two leaders. Only one of these books, "Call of the Wild," was published between 1900 and 1930; all the others were written before 1900 or since 1930.

The Bible is especially popular with older people. Thirty-seven per cent of those over 50 named it, while only 17 per cent of those between 30 and 49, and only six per cent of



GOING TO THINK FOR HIMSELF?
KNOX IN MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL

those under 30, selected it. It is rather surprising that "Gone with the Wind," a book about the South, was more popular in New England than anywhere else.

Cooperatives Gain

The year 1938 was a good one for consumer cooperatives, according to The Co-operative League. Although complete figures on the year are not available, it is evident that the membership in cooperatives and the business turnover increased about 12 per cent over 1937, in spite of the lag in general business activity during the first six months of the year.

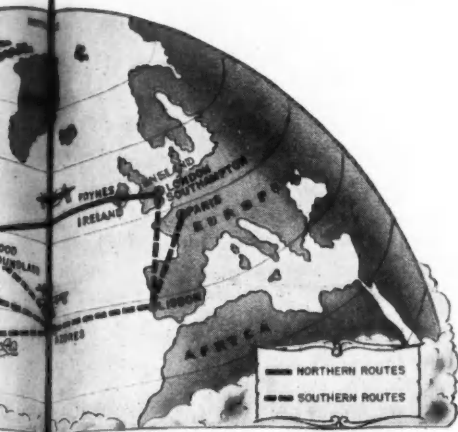
A notable step in the development of co-operatives was the merging of the two largest national cooperative organizations, the Co-operative League and National Cooperatives, Inc. Henceforth these two organizations will



THE GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION IN SAN FRANCISCO

Home and Abroad

What We Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking



TRAVEL ROUTES ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

N. Y. TIMES

work together in encouraging the growth of cooperatives.

Some idea of the size of the cooperative movement in the United States is given by the fact that 2,400 cooperative stores sold more than 100 million dollars' worth of merchandise to 330,000 members during the year. Also, cooperatives were active in the fields of insurance, cafeterias, housing, rural electrification, petroleum products, credit unions, telephone, book service, medicine, and many others.



YOU WOULD BE HAPPIER IN MY ZOO
THOMAS IN SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS

FOREIGN

Return Trip

Prime Minister Chamberlain has returned from his visit to Rome with little to show for his efforts. The trip started on a discordant note when a crowd of unemployed Britishers gathered in London's Victoria Station to give their prime minister a send-off consisting almost exclusively of lusty "boos." His reception in France was somewhat better, and in Italy he was cheered. But his talks with Mussolini bore little fruit. The official communiqué stated that "no new commitment, arrangement, or agreement has been asked for or entered into by either government. Britain and Italy have each now stated

their own position and each understands the other's viewpoint."

In point of fact, when Mr. Chamberlain returned to London he had even less than he had departed with. Under the Anglo-Italian appeasement agreement drawn up last spring and signed last fall, Mussolini agreed to withdraw his troops from Spain. With the exception of 10,000 sick or wounded that were returned to Italy in the autumn, the Italian contingents have not been diminished, while the supply of armaments lent to Franco has been increased. If there was ever any doubt about this, Mussolini settled the matter himself shortly after the British statesmen had left Rome by warning France that he insisted on a victory for Franco, and that if France made any move to ship supplies to the desperate loyalists, he would send even more troops. Thus did Mussolini announce that all the resources of Italian Fascism stand behind the Spanish insurgents.

Outnumbered two to one in aircraft, and three to one in artillery, tanks, and mechanized equipment, the loyalist armies continue to retreat toward Barcelona. One after another the key cities of the loyalist defense lines have fallen, Falset, Tortosa, and Tarragona, bringing the insurgents to the edge of the province of Catalonia. The loyalist counterdrives in the southwest, one near Almadén and another west of Madrid, although they succeeded in pushing the insurgent lines back in those areas, have apparently failed in their principal objectives—to divert Franco's troops from the great offensive in Catalonia. In the meantime loyalists are considering shifting their capital back to Valencia, in the face of the offensive.

Russians in Exile

The revolution that began 22 years ago in Russia, the second revolution that followed it, and the ensuing years of civil war, drove hundreds of thousands of people across the borders and into exile. Some of them fled across the western borders and settled in Berlin, Paris, and New York. Others, retreating across Siberian snows, finally found refuge in China, and particularly in the city of Harbin, where a quarter of a million of them now live. Some of the latter had enough money to get across the Pacific to San Francisco where there is today a large White Russian colony (called "White" to distinguish them from the "Reds" or Communists).

The plight of these peoples has not been a happy one. Romantic fiction and such films as "Tovarich" have done much to portray members of the Russian nobility now eking out a thin existence as taxi-drivers, waiters, and as members of other of the less lucrative professions. But it has done little to portray the plight of the hundreds of thousands of middle-class Russians, cast loose upon the world with no country to protect them and at the mercy of every anti-foreign drive in every country, with the possible exception of the United States and France.

The hopes of the White Russians, which have flagged for many years as the Soviets have further entrenched themselves, have been somewhat revived recently as the reports have spread that Hitler intends to place the heir to the nonexistent throne of Russia,



ACME

BEHIND THE INSURGENT FRONT IN SPAIN
The Falange Youth, one of the organized groups supporting Franco. Groups of girls move close behind the front, nursing the wounded, repairing and washing clothing, and performing other duties to help the insurgent cause.

Grand Duke Vladimir Cyrilovich, on the throne of the Ukraine, if and when he succeeds in creating such a state. These rumors, however, have revealed a deep cleavage in White Russian ranks. Many of them, while opposing the Communist regime now entrenched at Moscow, openly abhor any collaboration with Hitler or with any other ruler whose design it is to war against the Russian people and split up the country. One of the strongest of all the statements on this point was recently made by the former White Russian general, Anton Denikin, one of the most violent enemies of the Bolsheviks in the early 1920's and with whom they fought their most bitter war. Speaking with great feeling he said to his Paris followers, "White or Red, our fatherland remains our fatherland. Whoever may aid Russia's enemies cannot call himself a patriot, no matter what ideological excuse he may use for taking money to fight his own people."

Hiranuma Faces Tests

While the Japanese armies continue to war on the nearly 400 million people of China, the new cabinet of Baron Hiranuma is turning on one man for a test of strength, a test



GRACE LINE

INDIAN TYPE
The women of Ecuador were recently granted the right to vote, but they only had two days' notice before election of the fact.

which all educated Japanese are watching closely. The man is Dr. Eijiro Kawai, professor of economics in the Imperial University at Tokyo. In recent years, Dr. Kawai has written four books in which he praised individualism and liberalism. In one of them, "A Critique of Fascism," he indulged in a little mild criticism of the effect of fascist institutions on the individual. The government of Japan holds the view that, because Dr. Kawai's books praise individualism and liberalism, and cast some doubts as to the value of excessive nationalism, they are calculated to disturb the enthusiasm of the Japanese people in regard to the war against China, and thus to undermine the state.

On one side, the militarists are lined up in a solid phalanx against the professor, and insist that he be punished. On Dr. Kawai's side the entire faculty of the Tokyo University has ranged itself. Although the professor has broken no law, inasmuch as he has neither advocated nor praised communism, he was arrested and grilled by police for 20 days. The case of Dr. Kawai, now in the hands of Japanese police, promises to be of far-reaching import to the people of Japan.

If he loses, a precedent will have been established by which anyone may be punished for criticizing, no matter how mildly, the policies of Japanese militarists.

British Protests

A more important development in the Far Eastern situation, from an international point of view, has been the delivery of a strongly worded British note to Tokyo protesting Japanese attempts to close the Open Door to international commerce in China in defiance of the Nine-Power Treaty to which Japan was signatory. The British note was very much akin to the one recently dispatched by Secretary Hull, in that it refused to recognize changes brought about in China by force, refused to accept any change in the Nine-Power Treaty without the agreement of all signatories, and reserved all British rights in China. Also, as in the case of Secretary Hull's note, the British protest left open the door for further negotiation.

The situation is now somewhat as follows. Japan has received two parallel, blunt protests from the United States and Great Britain. The two western powers have insisted that she withdraw from her position on the Open Door. If she does, then Japan loses prestige, and since prestige, or "face," is so highly valued in the Orient, it is doubtful that she will yield. In that case, the initiative is left in the hands of the British and American governments. If their protests are ignored or rejected, what line of action may they be expected to take? If they take none, their own prestige will decline. But if any retaliatory action should be contemplated, what would be its nature? So far neither London nor Washington has offered the slightest hint as to what they have in mind. The situation is tense; many eyes are watching it anxiously, and it contains many potentialities—some of them serious.

Aftermath of Lima

Among the 106 resolutions passed by the delegates attending the Pan American conference at Lima which adjourned less than a month ago, was one favoring equal rights for women throughout the Western Hemisphere. This resolution did not arouse much comment at the time, and possibly it was not taken very seriously on the continent to the south where women seldom enjoy the rights that are enjoyed by women in the United States. It came as somewhat of a surprise, therefore, to the women of the small republic of Ecuador to learn recently that a new constitution had been drawn up granting the right of suffrage to all citizens over 18 years of age, regardless of sex. It was of particular surprise since congressional elections were only two days off with a troublesome question pending. In Ecuador the people elect the congress, and the congress elects the president. Last month, the congress elected Aurelio Mosquera as president for a full term. The opposition declared that such an election was illegal, and that the new congress, which meets on February 1 and which the opposition expects to dominate, should elect the president.



GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

SAN FRANCISCO IS ABOUT READY TO RECEIVE ITS VISITORS



"FRIENDS OF NEW GERMANY" ASSEMBLE TO PROTEST THE BOYCOTT ON GERMAN GOODS

Something to Think About

Subversive Influences

There is a picture on this page of Americans who sympathize with the German Nazis. They are probably of German birth, and feel a loyalty to, or kinship with, the Fatherland as well as with their adopted country. They have formed an organization, the main purpose of which is to encourage friendship with Germany and its present rulers.

Not only are Nazi sympathizers organized in this way, but in many places Communists are also. They hold meetings and engage in demonstrations and maintain close relations with the Communist government of Soviet Russia. Sometimes they display the red flag of Communism, just as the Nazi sympathizers display the swastika of German fascism. The presence of such influences as these raises important questions as to our proper attitude toward them. What do you think? How would you answer these questions:

1. Should an American citizen be permitted to express his admiration for a form of government or society such as that of the Nazis or the Communists?
2. Would it be a denial of free speech to prevent such an expression? Would it be a denial of democracy itself?
3. Should any group of Americans be permitted to assemble, wearing the uniform or carrying the banner of a foreign nation?
4. Why are such organizations or influences as have been mentioned sometimes called "subversive"?
5. Do you think that, if ignored, they would endanger our peace or our government or that they would imperil democracy?

Are You Sure of Your Facts?

1. Approximately how much does the WPA spend a year and how many persons does it employ?
2. What changes in the present relief set-up have been recommended by a special committee of the Senate on unemployment and relief?
3. Why is the Baltic Sea more important to Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia than to most of the other countries in that section of Europe?
4. What indication is there that Hitler may be attempting to dominate the Baltic states?
5. What are some of the findings of the Carnegie Foundation's recent report on college students?
6. What is the most widely read book in the United States?
7. Where is the island of Guam located and what issue has arisen in connection with it?
8. To what position has former Senator Pope of Idaho been appointed?
9. What country is planning to launch a transatlantic air-mail service next June?

10. True or False: During the last year consumer cooperatives made considerable progress in this country.

Can You Defend Your Opinions?

1. If you were a member of Congress, would you favor a reduction in the amount of money spent for relief?
2. What changes, if any, would you make in the administration of relief? Would you favor turning the problem over to the states and municipalities?
3. What do you think of President Roosevelt's message of national defense?
4. What action do you think the Baltic states should take to avoid being drawn into war?
5. Do you agree with the comments of William Allen White which are contained in the editorial reprinted on page 1 of this issue of *The American Observer*?
6. Do you think that the accomplishments of Mayor Hague of Jersey City justify the tactics he has employed in administering the city's affairs?
7. In view of Mussolini's refusal to withdraw his troops from Spain, what policy do you think the British government should adopt with respect to the Spanish situation?
8. What value might one derive from reading regularly a magazine like "The Nation"? Should one's reading on current problems be confined to a magazine of that type?
9. In the light of Britain's support of the American stand against Japan, do you think that the United States should adopt a more vigorous policy in the Far East?

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PRONUNCIATIONS: Memel (may'mel), swastika (svah'stee-ka), Riga (ree'ga), Tallinn (tah'l'in), Holsti (hoel'stee), Aland (oe'land), Burgos (boor'goes), Galicia (ga-lee'thya), Asturias (a-stoo'ryas), Sanjuro (sahn-hoo'-roe), Goded (goe-dayd'), Hiranuma (hee-rah-noo'mah), Eijiro Kawai (ay-jee'roe kah-wi'-ee-i as in ice), Harbin (har-been'), Vladimir Cyrilovich (v'la-dee-meer see-ree'loe-veech'), Anton Denikin (an-tone'den-yeek'in'), Falset (fahl'set), Tortosa (tor-toe'sah'), Taragona (tar-rah-goe'nah), Almaden (ahl-ma-dayn'), Valencia (va-len'thya), Aurelio Mosquera (ah-oo-ray'lyo mos-kay'rah).

Locate Yourself!

Types of Students and Analysis of Prospects

Type 14

THERE is a type of student found rather frequently in both high school and college who is not inclined to work very hard and who has no very clear idea of what he expects to get out of his courses. He wishes, of course, to make as high grades as possible because of the advantages which come from being well regarded by instructors and fellow students. In order to obtain the grades, he resorts, whenever possible, to trickery. If he can, he will cheat in examinations. If, by such means, he makes acceptable grades, he is quite well satisfied and feels that he is getting along well. What does the future hold for a student of this kind?

Probably a good many disappointments. It is likely that this student will try, after he gets out of school, to achieve success by the methods with which he has become familiar while in school. Probably he will have no compelling interest in substantial achievement. He will be looking only for advancement, and if he can bring about advancement by appearing something which he is not, by tricks or cheating of one kind or another, he is likely to resort to such practices.

Of course, he may not do this. He may face about when he gets a job and live up to higher standards. Occasionally someone does that. He may cheat in school because the schoolwork seems rather unreal to him, and he cannot see clearly the advantages which might come from doing his work well. When he gets a job, however, he may become interested in it and may see more clearly how good workmanship may advance his interests. And so he may do better.

Such an instance of change, however, is rather unusual. Habits tend to become fixed. It is hard to change them, and if one gets into the habit of engaging in dishonest practices, there are a good many chances to one that he will go ahead with them. It is a dangerous thing for one to get the notion that honesty does not count for much and that deception is justified.

The probability is, therefore, that the student such as has been described will depend upon subterfuges and tricks and that he will not throw himself wholeheartedly into making himself efficient. His prospects are not bright. There are many such people in industry. Many of them are fourflushers. They put on a good front and think that this covers up the shoddiness of their work. They are cheaters at

has accomplished no more in the direction of permanent success than if he had done poor work and then obtained a poor grade.

In the long run, it pays one to obtain a good education. And no profit comes from making people think temporarily that he is getting an education when, in fact, he is not.

A student who really wants to succeed at a job later on, and one who wishes also to lead a happy and satisfied life, should, as he goes along, be asking himself the question, "What am I getting from my work this week or this year which will help me to be efficient and which will broaden my interests and deepen my understanding so that I will live more happily and more worthily?" If he keeps that thought in mind, he will see how futile it is, from the standpoint of his permanent interests, to avoid doing constructive work by the dishonest devices of making people think that he is doing it, when he is doing no such thing.

Position of the Baltic States

(Concluded from page 3)

that a number of Swedish firms had complied. He warned that all Swedes should cooperate to resist such pressure.

Nothing better illustrates the fear of trouble in the Baltic than the fact that Finland, with the consent of Sweden, is beginning to fortify the long defenseless Aland Islands, near the juncture of the two arms of the "Y" formed by the Baltic Sea. Both nations fear that unless the fortifications are quickly completed, an attempt may be made to seize these islands.

In the face of these momentous portents, the three Baltic states are looking around for some solution. They are not strong enough either to resist an invasion or to prevent the two great powers from fighting on their soil. Within the last year, General Joseph Beck, foreign minister of Poland, has done considerable traveling throughout the various Baltic capitals in an attempt to join the Baltic Entente with Poland, Hungary, and Rumania in his projected neutral barrier across Europe between Germany and Russia. The three Baltic states showed considerable inclination toward this idea, and served joint notice upon the League of Nations to the effect that they henceforth considered themselves neutral powers, like The Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway.

But since then the Polish government has shown a tendency to play high politics of the fast and dangerous kind, which involve rapid shifts back and forth between friendship with Germany and friendship with Russia. The Baltic governments have watched these maneuvers with anxiety and alarm. The fear that Poland might cooperate with Germany in action against Lithuania (a fear somewhat justified by recent activities in Warsaw) has done much to shatter whatever faith the small states may have had in Polish protection.

The only apparent solution at present is a very distasteful one, if worse comes to worst, and that is either to help Russia against Germany, or to help Germany against Russia. Within these republics there is some division of opinion as to which side should be favored if a decision must be made.

It must be said that the governments of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have done all they can. When Poland has shown anxiety to create a bloc of neutral states between Russia and Germany, they have offered to join it. Last year they proclaimed themselves to be neutral powers. They have done everything in their power to avoid friction with other powers. They know very well that their only real hope is in peace for eastern Europe.



CHEATING MAY GET YOU BY—BUT ONLY TEMPORARILY

their jobs, just as they formerly were cheaters at examination time. And just as cheaters are usually found out in school, they are ordinarily found out in business, and they lose the respect of their superiors and their fellow workers. Real success does not come to them.

It would be an excellent thing if boys and girls who are inclined to cheat could see that they are really cheating themselves. One makes real progress toward permanent success, not because of the grades which an instructor records upon his books, but because of the information, the ideas, or the training that he gets out of the courses he takes. A student who gets little out of a course, but who, through trickery, secures a good grade,

Legislators Turn Attention to the WPA Machinery and Expenditures

(Concluded from page 1)

Progress Administration, known as the WPA. This is an agency of the federal government. It is spending about \$3,000,000,000 a year and is using that money for public improvements of various kinds. It has built or improved 200,000 miles of highways, 4,000 miles of sidewalks; has constructed 6,000 steel bridges, 13,000 school buildings, and many hospitals, libraries, and auditoriums. It has improved parks and playgrounds. It constructs projects which local and state officials suggest, and thousands of communities have benefited by WPA construction work. At the present time, the WPA, by its various activities, is employing about 3,000,000 workers.

Other Agencies

In addition to the WPA, there is the Civilian Conservation Corps, which has in its camps about 300,000 young men. They are working at preserving forests, conserving soil, and so on. Then there is the National Youth Administration, which turns over money to colleges and high schools, to enable them to hire students at various projects so that these students may stay in school. There is the Public Works Administration, which constructs dams, flood-control systems, and engages in other large construction projects, and gives employment to thousands of men. These are not all the relief agencies, but they are the most important ones.

It is to be observed that the national government does not give much outright relief. It employs workers on the projects which are undertaken. There are, of course, a large number of men and women who need relief and who cannot work, either because they are too old, or because they are ill or crippled or suffer a mental ailment or from some other disability. These are the unemployables. It is intended that they shall be given direct relief instead of

greatly reduced. It is possible, however, to shift the burden from one agency to another. Many people, for example, believe that the federal government should curtail its relief expenditures. That would, of course, throw a heavier burden upon states or cities or counties or private charity. But it might be done, and, in fact, the question of whether or not this should be done is one of the big issues associated with the relief problem.

Issue Over Amount

Now we come to the issues which are being threshed out in the present session of Congress. One of these issues, as was indicated earlier in this article, has to do with the amount of money which Congress shall appropriate for relief, particularly for the relief needs of the WPA up to the first of next July. It will be noted that the Republicans and conservative Democrats in the House of Representatives did not call for the federal government to get out of the relief business. They merely differed with the President on the amount that was needed. They cut his figure by nearly one-fifth. They claim that, with the improvement in business, many men now on relief can find private employment and that the relief appropriation can be cut without producing distress.

On this matter opinion differs. Governor Lehman of New York, for example, and Mayor LaGuardia of New York City, together with the officials of many states and cities, say that if the appropriation for the WPA is cut, several hundred thousand men now on the WPA rolls will be rendered helpless and will not be able to get jobs in private employment. They will then be thrown back upon the local governments which will feel an almost impossible strain.

It is important to keep in mind the fact that the people of the country must pay the bill for relief, whether they pay it through their national or through their local government. This bill cannot be escaped. The chief argument in favor of having the federal government, rather than the state and local governments, bear the cost is that it is easier for the federal government to get the money than it is for a good many of the local governments to do so. The states and cities get their money very largely by a general property tax or a sales tax, and these taxes are unpopular. The general property tax, for example, is very burdensome to people who have considerable property but who do not have very large incomes. The national government gets its money chiefly from the income tax and taxes on tobacco, liquor, and certain luxury articles. Many believe that these taxes are more just than those imposed by local governments and that hence it would be better for the federal government to collect the money and pay for relief than for the states and cities to do so.

Furthermore, many of the states and cities have poor credit and cannot borrow money. The federal government still has good credit and can borrow. The time may come, however, if it keeps on going into debt, when its credit will be destroyed.

Only One Angle

This question of the amount of money which is being appropriated for the WPA is, however, only one angle of a complicated problem. The attempt will be made by the opponents of the Roosevelt administration to change the machinery by which relief is administered. Many oppose granting appropriations in the way they have hitherto been granted. The money has heretofore been placed in the hands of the WPA officials and they have had much leeway in deciding just where and for what purposes it should be spent. It is charged that they have been influenced by politics in their work. It is declared by opponents of the administration that large projects have been constructed in certain communities for the



WE WHO ARE THE NEEDY
The real problem of relief is after all a human problem. These are WPA job-seekers in Atlanta, Georgia, protesting against what they consider to be inadequate relief policies.

purpose of inducing the people to vote the Democratic ticket.

There is a demand, therefore, for a nonpartisan board to supervise the activities of the WPA. It is also suggested in some quarters that the national officials of the WPA should not control the expenditure of the huge relief fund but that the money should be distributed by the federal government among the states, and that the separate states should handle the WPA enterprises.

Against this plan, it is argued that, even though national officials are sometimes partisan and often play politics, state and city officials are usually even worse in this regard, and that, therefore, if the work relief program were turned over to local authorities, there would be more politics and more inefficiency in relief than there is now.

Senate Proposal

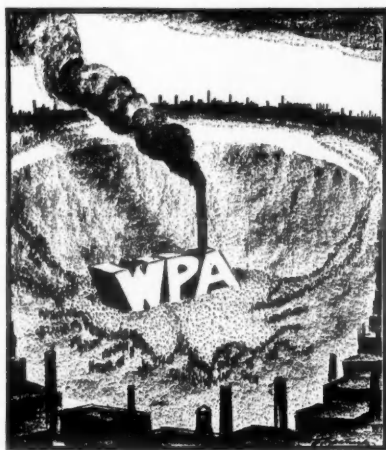
Those who think that local government should handle relief have another argument, however. They say that there is danger to democracy in turning everything important over to the national government; that if democracy is ever to be sound and secure in America, we must not turn everything over to officials in Washington, but important governmental work should be done by cities, towns, and states. If these local divisions are given responsibilities, so it is argued, people will take more interest in them and they will be better governed.

An important proposal relative to the handling of the whole relief problem has

been made by a special committee on unemployment and relief in the United States Senate. This committee recommends that a radical change be made. It thinks that the government should cease giving work relief as it has been doing, that it should help the states to take care of relief through the various branches of the social security program. The committee holds that the unemployment insurance and old-age pension payments should be increased. The federal government should help the states to increase the funds for these purposes. Then, if workers were thrown out of jobs, they would be cared for in the regular way by unemployment insurance and would not need to be given relief. Old people would receive enough out of the regular old-age pensions so that they could be taken off relief.

If, in times of deep depression, the improved unemployment insurance and old-age pension programs were not sufficient to take care of the needy, a public building program should be inaugurated to give employment to workers. But this program should not be carried on by the national government. The various state governments should carry on the public building work and the national government should distribute money among the states to help them in this activity.

The issues which have been discussed are only a few, though the most important, of the relief issues which will be debated in the present Congress. Concrete problems, as they enter the field of controversy in Congress, will naturally receive attention in later issues of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.



ONE CHIMNEY SMOKING
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

work relief. But in their case the relief comes from the states or cities or counties or from private charity.

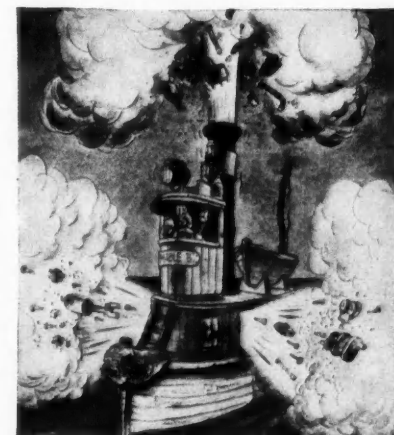
These relief agencies, taken together, are doing their work well enough so that no one in the country, or at least very few people, actually starve to death. In practically every city, however, there are families which do not receive either direct relief or work relief enough to avoid hunger, or to be warmly dressed, or to have adequate medical attention. In every city of the land, private charitable organizations find great numbers of very pitiful cases of those who are still neglected. If the American people were taking care of all those who are helpless well enough so that hunger and other forms of destitution might be eliminated, we would have to pay a much larger sum for relief than we now pay. On the other hand, it is true that there are many thousands of individuals who manage somehow to get on the relief rolls when they could get along very well without help if they wished to do so.

Under the circumstances, it does not seem probable that the total sum spent by the American people for relief can be

Smiles

Card received from Scotland: "Wishing you a Happy New Year, a Happy Birthday, and a Merry Christmas, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943."

A reader tells us he was born at Llanfihangel Aberbythch, in Carmarthen. Well, that's more than a lot of people can say. —HUMORIST



"WELL—I'D BETTER BE GETTING DOWN TO MY ENGINE!"
SHAW IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

"Com-pa-nee, atten-shun!" bawled the drill sergeant to the awkward squad. "Com-pa-nee, lift up your left leg and hold it straight in front of you!"

By mistake one rookie held up his right leg, which brought it out side by side with his neighbor's left leg.

"Aw right, aw right. Who's the wise guy over there holding up both legs?" shouted the sergeant. —READIO

"The doctor felt his patient's purse."—from a magazine story. We don't know whether or not that's a typographical error, because we don't know the doctor. —CLIPPED

Departing Guest: "Thanks very much for lending me your umbrella—but what a quaint handle it's got."

Host: "Yes, it's an invention of my own. It explodes if not returned within three days." —HUMORIST

With an income of \$25,000 a month, Douglas Corrigan rooms in a low-priced hotel, eats a nickel lunch, and rides to and from his work in a bus. Why can't the spendthrift walk? —St. Louis POST-DISPATCH

"And believe me, ma'am," said the country postman, "I've got to walk over a mile to the farm over there, just to deliver this circular."

"How annoying," said the sympathetic woman. "Wouldn't it be much simpler to send it by mail?" —TIT-BITS

The American Observer Index

Volume VIII, Numbers 1 to 18, September 12, 1938, Through January 23, 1939

- A**
- Accidents. Oct. 31-4; Jan. 16-3
Africa. Nov. 14-3
Agriculture.
Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Nov. 28-4
Cotton Picker. Sept. 12-5
Farm Problem. Sept. 12-4; Oct. 17-1
History. Oct. 17-6
Shelterbelt. Sept. 19-5
"Soils and Men." Oct. 17-4
Surpluses. Oct. 24-4
All-American Canal. Nov. 7-5
American Federation of Labor. (See Labor)
American Institute of Public Opinion. Nov. 21-4; Dec. 12-4
Andes Mountains. Oct. 3-3
Andrews, Elmer F. Sept. 12-5
Armaments. Oct. 24-4; Oct. 24-7; Nov. 7-5; Dec. 12-5; Jan. 9-1; Jan. 9-4; Jan. 23-4
Arnold, Thurman W. Sept. 12-5
Aroostook County. Oct. 17-4
Art, American. Oct. 24-4
Ataturk, Kemal. Oct. 31-6; Nov. 21-3
Australia. Sept. 12-3
Automobile.
Diesel Engines. Nov. 14-5
General Motors Wages. Nov. 28-4
Industry. Oct. 31-7
Aviation.
Aviators, Training. Jan. 9-4
Safety. Oct. 24-5
- B**
- Baltic States. Jan. 23-1
Bankhead, William. Jan. 2-7
Barkley, Alben W. Jan. 2-7
Baruch, Bernard M. Oct. 3-4
Beck, Joseph. Oct. 31-6
Benavides, Oscar. Dec. 5-6
Benes, Eduard. Oct. 17-6
Bermuda. Dec. 12-3
Bonnet, Georges. Jan. 9-7
Brazil. Nov. 14-3
British West Indies. Nov. 7-3
Budget. Jan. 16-1 (See also Taxation)
Bulgaria. Oct. 24-3
Business Conditions.
Governmental Relations. Oct. 17-4; Nov. 14-4
Improvement. Sept. 12-4; Nov. 14-4; Jan. 2-4
Income, Family. Sept. 19-1
Monopoly. Sept. 12-5; Oct. 31-4; Dec. 12-1; Jan. 2-4
Profit-Sharing. Dec. 5-1
Relief. Oct. 3-4; Jan. 23-1
Stock Exchange. Nov. 14-4
- C**
- Cabinet, United States. Nov. 28-5
Canada. Sept. 26-3; Nov. 21-4
Canal, All-American. Nov. 7-5
Carol, King. Dec. 5-6
Census. Sept. 26-4
Chamberlain, Neville. Sept. 26-3
Chile. Sept. 19-3; Nov. 7-3; Jan. 23-5
China. (See Sino-Japanese War)
Churchill, Winston. Oct. 17-6
Ciano, Galeazzo. Nov. 14-6
City Problems. Jan. 2-3
Civilian Conservation Corps. Oct. 17-4
Civil Liberties. Nov. 7-4; Jan. 23-2
Community Problems. Jan. 2-3
Congress of Industrial Organizations. (See Labor)
Congress, United States. Oct. 3-5; Dec. 12-4; Jan. 2-1; Jan. 16-4
Cooperatives. Oct. 17-5; Jan. 23-4
Current History. Jan. 9-2
Czecho-Slovakia. (See also Europe, Germany)
Benes, Eduard. Oct. 17-6
Crisis. Sept. 19-1; Sept. 26-1; Oct. 3-1
German Mobilization. Sept. 12-3
Hacha, Emil. Dec. 12-3
Munich Agreement. Oct. 10-1; Oct. 17-3
Poland. Oct. 10-3
Results. Nov. 14-3
Syrovky, Jan. Oct. 3-3
- D**
- Daladier, Edouard. Dec. 12-5
Davis, Norman H. Oct. 17-6
Defenses. (See Armaments)
Democratic Government. Oct. 3-1
Democratic Party. (See Political Scene)
Depression. (See Business Conditions)
Dewey, Thomas E. Sept. 12-4
Dies Committee. Jan. 16-4
Downey, Sheridan. Nov. 21-7
- E**
- Ecuador. Oct. 17-3; Jan. 23-5
Edison, Charles. Nov. 14-6
Education. (See also Youth)
Accidents. Jan. 16-3
Education Week. Nov. 7-1
Finances. Jan. 9-3
History. Nov. 7-6
New York Schools. Nov. 28-5
Population. Sept. 12-6
Radio. Oct. 17-5
Seamen. Oct. 10-4; Jan. 2-4
Studebaker, John W. Nov. 7-6
Town Meeting. Sept. 12-7
Vocational Training. Oct. 10-1
Elections. (See Political Scene)
Electric Power. (See Public Utilities)
- F**
- Europe. (See also Czecho-Slovakia, Foreign Policy—United States, Germany)
Americans in. Sept. 26-4
Democratic Government. Oct. 3-1
East, Troubles in. Dec. 5-3
Munich Agreement. Oct. 10-1; Oct. 17-3
Newspaper Correspondents. Sept. 26-3
Newspapers in. Oct. 3-3
Refugees. Nov. 21-1; Nov. 28-3; Nov. 28-4; Dec. 5-3
Roosevelt's Speech. Jan. 16-5
World War. Sept. 19-6
- F**
- Family Income. Sept. 19-1
Farming. (See Agriculture)
Fascism. (See Germany, Italy)
Finance, Government. (See Budget, Taxation)
Foreign Policy, United States.
Ambassadors. Nov. 28-6
Americans in Europe. Sept. 26-4
British Alliance. Sept. 19-7
Chinese Loan. Jan. 2-5
Germany. Nov. 28-4
Mexico. Sept. 12-3; Oct. 31-3
Monroe Doctrine. Dec. 5-6
Neutrality. Sept. 19-4; Oct. 3-4
Open Door. Nov. 7-4; Nov. 14-1; Nov. 28-3; Jan. 9-5
Review of. Oct. 31-1
South America. Nov. 21-3; Nov. 21-4; Dec. 5-1; Dec. 12-4; Jan. 2-5; Jan. 9-1; Jan. 9-5; Jan. 9-6
Spanish Loan. Jan. 9-4
War Scare. Oct. 10-4
Foreign Trade, United States.
British Agreement. Nov. 14-4; Nov. 28-1
Canadian Pact. Nov. 21-4
France.
Daladier, Edouard. Dec. 12-5
Domestic Situation. Nov. 28-3; Dec. 5-3; Dec. 12-1
Foreign Policy. Oct. 31-1; Oct. 31-6
Italy. Dec. 12-3; Jan. 2-1; Jan. 9-5
Jouhaux, Leon. Dec. 12-5
Politics. Nov. 7-3
Franco, Francisco. Jan. 23-3
Frankfurter, Felix. Jan. 16-7
Free Speech. (See Civil Liberties)
- G**
- Gallup Poll. Nov. 21-4; Dec. 12-4
Garner, John N. Jan. 2-7; Jan. 9-4
Geography. Sept. 26-7; Dec. 5-4
Germany. (See also Czecho-Slovakia, Europe)
Ambassadors, Withdrawal of. Nov. 28-6
Czech Situation. Sept. 19-1; Sept. 26-1; Oct. 3-1
Decrees, Domestic. Jan. 16-5
Eastern Europe. Dec. 5-3
Foreign Policy. Oct. 10-6; Oct. 24-3
Goebbels, Joseph Paul. Nov. 28-6
Jews. Nov. 21-1; Nov. 21-3; Dec. 5-3
Lithuania. Oct. 31-3; Jan. 2-5
Mobilization. Sept. 12-3
Munich Agreement. Oct. 10-1; Oct. 17-3
Nazi Party. Sept. 19-3
Rothschild, House of. Oct. 17-3
Schacht, Hjalmar. Jan. 9-7
Ukraine. Jan. 16-1; Jan. 16-6
Goebbels, Joseph Paul. Nov. 28-6
Government Finance. (See Budget, Taxation)
Great Britain.
Africa. Nov. 14-3
Canada. Sept. 26-3
Censorship. Oct. 31-3
Chamberlain, Neville. Sept. 26-3
Churchill, Winston. Oct. 17-6
Czech Situation. Sept. 26-1
Duke of Kent. Nov. 7-6
Empire. Oct. 17-1
Foreign Policy. Sept. 12-3; Oct. 3-6; Oct. 10-3
Italy. Nov. 28-3; Jan. 23-5
King and Queen. Nov. 21-5; Dec. 5-3
Labor. Sept. 19-5
Palestine. Oct. 24-1; Nov. 21-3
Trade Agreement. Nov. 14-4; Nov. 28-1
West Indies. Nov. 7-3
Green, William. Oct. 24-6
Guam. Jan. 23-4
- H**
- Harrington, F. C. Jan. 2-4
Health. Jan. 2-4
Hiranuma, Kiichiro. Jan. 16-7
Historical Backgrounds.
Agriculture. Oct. 17-6
British Foreign Policy. Oct. 3-6
Education. Nov. 7-6
Europe in 1914. Sept. 19-6
French Foreign Policy. Oct. 31-6
German Foreign Policy. Oct. 10-6
Italian Fascism. Jan. 2-6
Monroe Doctrine. Dec. 5-6
Pan-Americanism. Jan. 9-6
Racial and Religious Tolerance. Nov. 21-6
Schools and Population. Sept. 12-6
Social Security. Sept. 26-6
Ukraine. Jan. 16-6
Wages and Hours. Oct. 24-6
Hopkins, Harry L. Oct. 31-6; Jan. 2-4
Hours of Labor. Sept. 12-5; Oct. 24-1; Oct. 24-6; Oct. 31-4; Nov. 21-4; Jan. 9-4
Housing. Sept. 26-4; Nov. 28-4; Dec. 5-4; Dec. 12-4; Jan. 2-4
- I**
- Hungary. Sept. 12-3
Hurricane. Oct. 3-4
- I**
- Income, Family. Sept. 19-1
Industry. (See Business Conditions)
International Relations. (See Europe, Foreign Policy—United States, Sino-Japanese War, Spanish Civil War)
Ireland. Nov. 14-3
Italy.
Ciano, Galeazzo. Nov. 14-6
Fascism. Jan. 2-6
France. Dec. 12-3; Jan. 2-1; Jan. 9-5
Great Britain. Nov. 28-3; Jan. 23-5
Libya. Nov. 14-3
- J**
- Jackson, Robert H. Nov. 28-6
Japan. (See Sino-Japanese War)
Johnson, Louis A. Jan. 9-7
Jouhaux, Leon. Dec. 12-5
- K**
- Kennedy, Joseph P. Sept. 26-4
Kent, Duke of. Nov. 7-6
- L**
- Labor.
A. F. of L. Convention. Oct. 3-4
A. F. of L. vs. CIO. Sept. 19-4; Oct. 17-4
Andrews, Elmer F. Sept. 12-5
CIO. Nov. 21-4; Nov. 28-4
General Motors. Nov. 28-4
Great Britain. Sept. 19-5
Green, William. Oct. 24-6
Lewis, John L. Oct. 24-6
Oregon Law. Dec. 12-4
Radio. Oct. 10-5
Railroads. Oct. 10-4; Nov. 7-4; Nov. 14-1; Jan. 2-4
Steel Wages. Nov. 14-4
Wages and Hours. Oct. 24-1; Oct. 24-6; Oct. 31-4; Nov. 21-4; Jan. 9-4
La Follette, Phillip. Oct. 17-6
Landon, Alfred M. Oct. 31-6
Latin America.
Boundary Dispute. Oct. 17-3
Brazil. Nov. 14-3
Conference. Nov. 21-3; Nov. 21-4; Dec. 5-1; Dec. 12-4; Jan. 2-5; Jan. 9-1; Jan. 9-5; Jan. 23-5
Monroe Doctrine. Dec. 5-6
Pan Americanism. Jan. 9-6
Ships. Oct. 17-5
Lehman, Herbert. Nov. 21-7
Lewis, John L. Oct. 24-6
Libya. Nov. 14-3
Lima Conference. (See Foreign Policy—United States, Latin America)
Lithuania. Oct. 31-3; Jan. 2-5
Litvinov, Maxim. Oct. 10-3
Lubin, Isador. Dec. 12-5
- M**
- Magazines. (See also Newspapers)
Current History. Jan. 9-2
Nation. Jan. 23-2
Saturday Evening Post. Jan. 2-2
Survey. Jan. 16-2
Survey Graphic. Jan. 16-2
Maine. Oct. 17-4
Maritime Commission, United States. Oct. 10-4; Nov. 14-5
Martin, Joseph W., Jr. Jan. 2-7
McNary, Charles L. Jan. 2-7
Mexico. Sept. 12-3; Oct. 31-3
Monopoly. (See Business Conditions)
Mooney, Tom. Jan. 16-7
Murphy, Frank. Jan. 9-7
- N**
- National Defense. (See Armaments)
National Resources Committee. Sept. 19-1
Netherlands. Sept. 26-3
New Deal. (See Political Scene)
New Guinea. Jan. 16-5
Newspapers. (See also Magazines)
Associated Press. Sept. 26-4
European Correspondents. Sept. 26-3
European Newspapers. Oct. 3-3
New Zealand. Oct. 24-3
Norman, Montagu. Jan. 16-7
Norway. Oct. 10-3
- O**
- O'Mahoney, Joseph C. Dec. 12-5
Oregon. Dec. 12-4
- P**
- Palestine. Oct. 24-1; Nov. 21-3
Pan American Conference. (See Latin America)
Pensions, Old-Age. (See Social Security)
Peru. Oct. 3-3; Oct. 17-3
Philippine Islands. Oct. 31-3; Dec. 12-3
Photography. Oct. 10-5; Dec. 5-4
Poland. Oct. 10-3; Nov. 28-1
Political Scene.
Cabinet. Nov. 28-5
Elections. Oct. 31-4; Nov. 14-4; Nov. 21-1
Ghost Writing. Nov. 21-5
New Deal. Sept. 26-4
New York. Oct. 10-4
President, Next. Dec. 12-4
Primaries. Sept. 12-1; Sept. 19-4; Oct. 3-4
Republican Party. Dec. 12-4
Roosevelt, Franklin D. Dec. 5-4; Jan. 16-4; Jan. 16-5
Pope, James P. Jan. 23-3
- Q**
- Population. Sept. 12-6; Sept. 26-4
Profit-Sharing. Dec. 5-1
Public Utilities. Nov. 7-5; Nov. 28-4
Puerto Rico. Dec. 5-5
- R**
- Radio.
Education. Oct. 17-5
Federal Communications Commission. Nov. 21-4
Labor Station. Oct. 10-5
Town Meeting. Sept. 12-7; Nov. 7-7
Railroads. Sept. 19-4; Oct. 10-4; Nov. 7-4; Nov. 7-5; Nov. 14-1; Jan. 2-4
Rayburn, Sam. Jan. 2-7
Recession. (See Business Conditions)
Reciprocal Trade Agreements. (See Foreign Trade—United States)
Reed, Clyde M. Nov. 21-7
Refugees. Nov. 21-1; Nov. 28-3; Nov. 28-4; Dec. 5-3
Relief. (See Business Conditions, Works Progress Administration)
Republican Party. (See Political Scene)
Ribbentrop, Joachim von. Nov. 14-6
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (See Political Scene)
Roosevelt, James. Sept. 19-5
Rothschild, House of. Oct. 17-3
Rumania. Oct. 3-3; Dec. 5-6; Dec. 12-3
Russia. Oct. 10-3; Nov. 7-1; Nov. 28-3; Dec. 5-3; Jan. 16-1; Jan. 16-6; Jan. 23-5
Rust, John and Mack. Sept. 12-5
- S**
- Safety. (See Accidents)
Saturday Evening Post. Jan. 2-2
Saud, Ibn. Oct. 24-6
Schacht, Hjalmar. Jan. 9-7
Science.
Invisible Glass. Jan. 9-4
Synthetic Silk. Oct. 31-4
Television. Oct. 31-5
Weather. Jan. 16-5
Seamen, Training of. Oct. 10-4
Shelterbelt. Sept. 19-5
Siam. Oct. 17-3
Sino-Japanese War.
Chinese Loan. Jan. 2-5
Developments in. Sept. 26-3; Oct. 24-3; Oct. 31-3; Nov. 7-3
Open Door. Nov. 7-4; Nov. 14-1; Nov. 28-3; Jan. 9-5; Jan. 23-5
Red Cross, United States. Oct. 3-5
Second Year. Sept. 12-1
Yangtze River. Sept. 19-3
Sloan, Alfred P., Jr. Nov. 14-6
Smigly-Rydz, Edward. Nov. 28-6
Social Security. Sept. 19-4; Sept. 26-1; Sept. 26-6; Oct. 17-7; Oct. 24-4; Dec. 5-4
South America. (See Latin America)
Spanish Civil War.
Aid, United States. Jan. 9-4
Developments in. Sept. 12-3; Oct. 3-3; Oct. 10-3; Nov. 21-3; Jan. 2-5; Jan. 9-5; Jan. 16-5; Jan. 23-5
Red Cross, United States. Oct. 3-5
Stalin, Josef. Nov. 7-6
Stassen, Harold. Nov. 21-7
States.
Maine. Oct. 17-4
New York. Oct. 10-4
Oregon. Dec. 12-4
South, the. Dec. 5-5
States' Rights. Jan. 23-4
Stock Exchange. (See Business Conditions)
Studebaker, John W. Nov. 7-6
Supreme Court. Oct. 3-5
Survey. Jan. 16-2
Survey Graphic. Jan. 16-2
- T**
- Taft, Robert A. Nov. 21-7
Tanganyika. Dec. 5-3
Taxation. (See also Budget)
Bonds, Tax-Exempt. Oct. 3-5
Television. Oct. 31-5
Tennessee Valley Authority. Nov. 28-4
Tibet. Sept. 19-3
Toscanini, Arturo. Oct. 17-4
Tourists. Sept. 26-5
Town Meeting. (See Radio)
Trade Agreements. (See Foreign Trade—United States)
Traffic Safety. (See Accidents)
Turkey. Oct. 17-3; Oct. 31-6; Nov. 21-3
- U**
- Ukraine. Nov. 28-3; Jan. 16-1; Jan. 16-6
Un-American Activities. Jan. 16-4
- V**
- Vocational Training. Oct. 10-1
- W**
- Wages and Hours. Sept. 12-5; Oct. 24-1; Oct. 24-6; Oct. 31-4; Nov. 21-4; Jan. 9-4
Wagner, Robert F. Nov. 21-7
Weizmann, Chaim. Oct. 24-6
Welles, Orson. Nov. 7-6
Welles, Sumner. Oct. 10-4
White, William Allen. Dec. 5-6
Willkie, Wendell L. Dec. 5-6
Wilson, Hugh R. Nov. 28-6
Works Progress Administration. Oct. 3-4; Oct. 24-5; Oct. 31-4; Jan. 2-4; Jan. 16-4; Jan. 23-1
- Y**
- Youth. (See also Education)
Boys' Town. Sept. 26-5
Yugoslavia. Sept. 19-3